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DEFINING MOVEMENTS IN THE IMVE SPACE

A SAFE, SECURE AND PROSPEROUS CANADA THROUGH TRUSTED INTELLIGENCE AND ADVICE.
DES RENSEIGNEMENTS ET DES CONSEILS FIABLES POUR UN CANADA SÛR ET PROSPÈRE.

Canada

Defining a Movement in the IMVE Space

Using the Term “Movement”

In Canada, traditional ideologically motivated violent extremist (IMVE) groups with more structured leadership and defined objectives (e.g., Atomwaffen Division, The Base) have been largely supplanted by loosely networked movements with amorphous goals. As the IMVE milieu continues to evolve, these movements increasingly focus on concepts rather than on a centralized organization, meaning that the name of an online platform or group has become secondary to the worldview it espouses.

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While a movement may collectively hold or espouse extreme views, only a small portion of adherents may be willing to engage in serious violence

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CSIS Mandate

Freedom of expression is constitutionally protected in Canada; CSIS investigative thresholds may be met once a threat actor facilitates or advocates for serious violence in support or furtherance of ideological, political or religious objectives with the intent of affecting societal change.² CSIS does not investigate lawful advocacy, protest or dissent, unless it is carried out in conjunction with any of the activities outlined in paragraphs 2(a) to (d) of the CSIS Act.³

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The “movement” landscape is constantly evolving. While some movements identified in this document are long-lasting (e.g., White supremacy and anarchism), others—like Boogaloo and QAnon—have emerged more recently.

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An accompanying placemat will be released in early 2022.

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² See CSIS placemat entitled *Ideologically Motivated Violent Extremism Assessing Potential CSIS Act 2c Threats*.

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³ See section 2(c) of the CSIS Act.

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Defining a Movement

For the purpose of this assessment, a movement is a loosely organized collection of threat actors who are linked by dense informal networks—both online and offline—and who share a distinct collective identity. A movement exists in conflictual relationship (including the possible use of serious violence) with clearly identified opponents; its goal is to carry out, resist, or undo social change. Movements tend to mobilize outside established political or institutional channels.

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A movement does not have a formal or legitimate leader; rather, it is guided purposefully and strategically by its members. Beyond the culture created by the movement, a collective call to action emerges through its followers.

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A movement is the coming together of individuals; it is generally not governed by the procedures or structures of a particular group. There is no standard typology of social movements; instead, movements collectively seek to evoke social change, through either legal or illegal tactics.

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Contemporary movements exist primarily across a range of loosely connected online platforms and real-life interactions. As mainstream social media companies crack down on online sites, adherents move to more obscure platforms that are less concerned with content moderation. Followers or "members" of movement-themed sites are not a reflection of real-world group support, but rather a gathering of individuals who believe in one or more underlying concepts within the movement. Narratives within movements focus on contention with the current political system and perceived institutional failures. As such, unlikely partnerships, coalitions and conflicting ideologies often coincide within a single movement.

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Movements, to varying degrees, are linked to a range of conspiracy theories that are generally non-falsifiable (in other words, most of its propositions rely on circular arguments and are vague enough to excuse inaccurate predictions or misinterpretation). Many supporters accept the inherent logical fallacies without question, and narratives are often shared—unknowingly—by individuals, thereby furthering the narratives' reach within the general public.

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Although the language adopted by adherents may be violent in nature, not all adherents within a movement are necessarily willing to engage in serious violence. In fact, only a small percentage of members within a movement⁴ tend to advocate for serious violence as a means of affecting societal change.⁵

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Movements can include sub-movements, individuals, cells, networks or groups. IMVE movements are often transnational in nature. Extreme narratives and concepts are easily shared and adapted to fit a national or subnational landscape.

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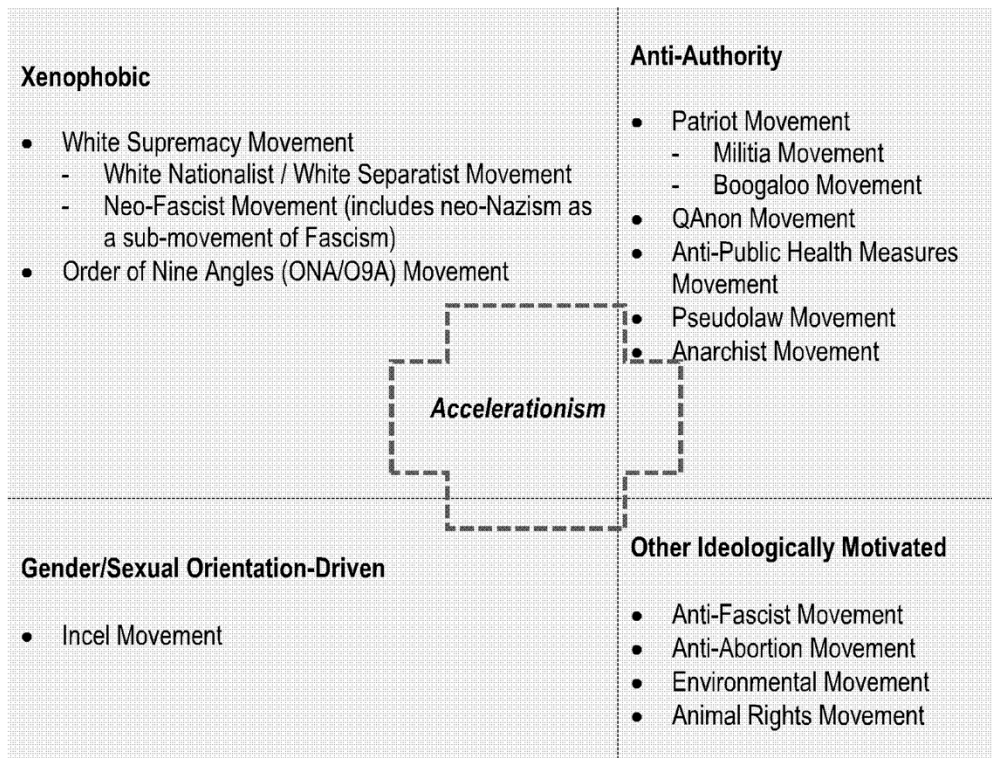
⁴ Elements of all movements identified for this project have engaged in serious violence, some more recently than others.

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⁵ See CSIS placemat entitled *Understanding the Ideologically Motivated Threat to the Fabric of Society*.

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Movements within the IMVE milieu



ACCELERATIONISM

Accelerationism is best defined as a tactic, technique or procedure (TTP) that is adopted across much of the IMVE landscape (it is ideologically agnostic, promoting both violent and non-violent actions taken to exploit contradictions intrinsic to the system in order to “accelerate” its destruction). s.38

Accelerationists believe that Western governments are irreparably corrupt and that multiculturalism and democracy will fail. They opine that the collapse of society is inevitable (often along racial lines) and desirable, as it is the only path to overcoming the downfall of current systems of government. Their online conversations are moulded by a belief that other IMVE actors are insufficiently extreme and that only violence against the political system can lead to the establishment of a new or different political entity (often based on White power). The Accelerationist narrative is most common across the Neo-Fascist, White Nationalist/White Separatist and O9A movements but also

What are TTPs?

Tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs) describe the behavior of a threat actor. Tactics are high-level descriptions of behavior, techniques are detailed descriptions of behavior in the context of a tactic, and procedures are even lower-level, highly detailed descriptions in the context of a technique. s.38

crosses into anti-authority movements and, to a lesser degree, the Incel and other movements (see chart entitled: Movements within the IMVE milieu). s.38

Accelerationists often encourage violence—and occasionally engage in violence themselves—to escalate the pace of societal collapse. Accelerationists reject any effort to seize political power through elections, thereby dismissing all attempts to engage in mass politics as pointless. s.38

Accelerationism is a TTP that IMVE actors rely on to promote violent and non-violent actions that “accelerate” the destruction of a political system. Accelerationism is both an aesthetic and TTP that is inspired by the work of James Mason, William Pierce, Adolf Hitler and Charles Manson.⁶ It is referenced in the manifestos of the Christchurch and Poway Synagogue attackers. s.38

WHITE SUPREMACY MOVEMENT

For the purposes of this project, CSIS assesses the White Nationalist/White Separatist Movement and the Neo-Fascist Movement as subsets of the broader White Supremacy Movement. s.38

WHITE NATIONALIST/WHITE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

The White Nationalist/White Separatist Movement emphasizes a global White racial identity and the establishment of White power worldwide. White Nationalist and Separatist threat actors seek to create a White nation or space in a particular geographic area. Entities within this Movement usually draw on a cultural history that is tied to a particular region; they also emphasize the importance of their perceived home region over national or transnational political order. As such, they may aspire to replace it with something like the White state imagined at the end of *The Turner Diaries*, a central White nationalist text describing a war against people of colour. At its core, White Nationalism is deeply revolutionary and anti-democratic in nature. s.38



The envisioned fate of non-White residents within these homelands varies, with options generally ranging from the subjugation of non-White individuals under White power to the total exclusion of non-White individuals through ethnic cleansing or forced migration. s.38

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Similarly, White Nationalism is “the idea that White people are going to unite as one national polity either in a White homeland or a White nation—or even in a White world—through the violent killing or exclusion of other people.”⁷ s.38

While some White Nationalist / White Separatist threat actors refrain from using or explicitly advocating violence, others are willing to engage in and/or encourage it. s.38

Numerous mass-casualty attackers over the past decade were motivated, in whole or in part, by their White Nationalist/White Separatist views. Often, the actions of more recent attackers were motivated or inspired by previous attackers. s.38

Examples

On July 22, 2011, Norwegian Anders Breivik killed eight people when he detonated a van bomb in Oslo, Norway, before killing 69 participants of a summer camp on the island of Utøya. He was subsequently convicted of murdering 77 people. On the day of the attacks, Breivik released his manifesto in which he stated his opposition to Islam and blamed feminism for a European “cultural suicide”. He claimed that his main motive for the attacks was to publicize his manifesto. s.38

On June 17, 2015, Dylann Roof shot and killed nine people and injured one at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Roof was convicted of 33 federal charges, including hate crimes, and was sentenced to death. Roof acted alone and admitted that his attack aimed to initiate a race war. s.38

On January 29, 2017, Alexandre Bissonnette shot and killed six worshippers and wounded 19 others (five seriously) at the Islamic Cultural Centre of Québec City. Bissonnette ultimately pleaded guilty to six counts of murder and six counts of attempted murder. Bissonnette indicated that his actions were motivated by his hatred and fear of Muslims and that he was convinced that refugees posed a threat to his family. s.38

On March 15, 2019, Brenton Tarrant shot and killed 51 people and injured 40 during attacks on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand. In addition to livestreaming the first attack and recording the second, Tarrant also produced and released a manifesto entitled *The Great Replacement*, a reference to the “Great Replacement”, a White genocide conspiracy theory. Tarrant was ultimately convicted of 51 counts of murder, 40 counts of attempted murder and 1 count of engaging in a terrorist act. Tarrant claimed that he was inspired by Anders Breivik. s.38

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⁷ Quote from: Kathleen Belew, University of Chicago and author of *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*. Quote taken from Vox magazine article entitled: *Trump once flirted with white nationalism. Now it's a centerpiece of his White House*. July 21, 2020. s.38

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NEO-FASCIST MOVEMENT

For the purpose of this project, neo-Nazism / National Socialism is considered a radical variant of fascism. s.38

There is no official definition of fascism. The prevalence of the term in common vernacular causes interpretational challenges. In recent years, the term is used more often as a political insult than a historically informed analytical term. s.38

For the purpose of this project, fascism is described as political philosophy that, at its core, is authoritarian, ultranationalist and requires a general belief that non-fascist government parties and institutions are incapable of improving the national situation. In the United States, neo-fascists typically have only contempt for their nation, often positing that the country—as a constitutional republic born out of the Enlightenment rather than a fascist state—was doomed from the start. s.38

Fascism reflects an intrinsic belief in human inequality, promoting the concept of an innate inequality and inescapable social hierarchy between groups. Underlying this hierarchy is the idea that a person's rank in society is determined by aspects of identity that are beyond their control, such as ethnicity or gender. s.38

Historically, fascists have opposed modernity, including liberalism, democracy, Marxism, individualism and feminism. They are described by academics as:

- anti-liberal, rejecting individual rights, civil liberties, free enterprise and democracy;
- anti-socialist, rejecting economic principles based on socialist frameworks;
- exclusionary of certain out-groups, often through violence; and,
- a nationalist movement that seeks to expand the nation's influence and power. s.38



For a fascist entity to become powerful, the combination of a strong national identity and disenchantment with government requires a catalyst to convince populations to side with what often starts as a small fringe movement. Hostility towards out-groups has traditionally served as a unifying element. s.38

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Examples

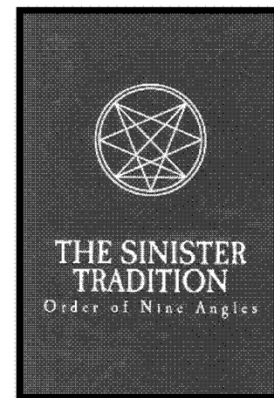
Groups such as Atomwaffen Division (AWD), Feuerkrieg Division (FKD), Sonnenkrieg Division (SKD) and The Base are part of the Neo-Fascist Movement. The Government of Canada recently listed both AWD and the Base as terrorist entities. s.38

Canadian citizen Patrik Mathews was a reservist within the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) and a recruiter for The Base in Canada.⁹ Subsequent to being doxxed in 2019, he fled to the United States, where he was arrested by the FBI for his role in a plot to engage in serious violence with other members of The Base. In October 2021, he was sentenced in the United States to nine years in prison. s.38

ORDER OF NINE ANGLES (ONA/O9A) MOVEMENT¹⁰

The O9A is a movement within the broader Left-Hand Path Movement.¹¹ It is not a tangible group or entity, and lacks a clear leader. The O9A can best be described as decentralized ideological and religious occult movement comprised of an unknown number of adherents who glorify extreme violence. O9A literature draws a Western European perspective from the most extreme interpretations of traditional Satanism, Hinduism and Islam, as well as National Socialism. While the O9A exists largely online, it has resulted in real-world violence and terrorism convictions, most notably in the United Kingdom. s.38

O9A literature advocates for the destabilization of society—through violence and terrorism—to bring about a new “refined” civilization. Followers are influenced by a diverse range of personal and diverse grievances and narratives, with some adhering more closely to foundational texts than others. s.38



The O9A is comprised of numerous sub-cells, known as ‘nexions,’ that operate under their own unique set of beliefs; members are united by their fascination with extreme violence. O9A materials that promote graphic depictions of violence, child exploitation, necrophilia and rape are readily available online. s.38

⁹ Mathews was involved with The Base before it was listed as a terrorist entity by the Government of Canada. s.38

¹¹ In Western esotericism, the Left-Hand Path and Right-Hand Path are the dichotomy between two opposing approaches to magic. For the purpose of this project, the Left-Hand Path is synonymous with malicious black magic or black shamanism. The Left-Hand Path is an esoteric trend that is informed by a unique blend of (i) individualism, an ideology in which the individual is placed at the absolute centre of their existential world; (ii) self-deification, a goal that may be understood in a number of ways, but always includes the person taking complete and total control of his or her own life; and (iii) an antinomian stance wherein a person examines and breaches social, cultural and religious taboos in pursuit of personal freedom. s.38

s.38

Examples

In October 2020, 18-year-old British citizen Harry Vaughan pleaded guilty to 12 counts of possessing documents that are useful to a terrorist, one count of encouraging terrorism, one count of disseminating terrorist publications and two counts of possessing indecent images. Vaughan also created propaganda for Sonnenkrieg Division (SKD), a now-proscribed entity in the United Kingdom. Vaughan adhered to the O9A worldview, combining both Satanic and neo-Nazi beliefs.

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In June 2020, US Army private Ethan Melzer was arrested for allegedly sharing sensitive military intelligence with violent extremists, including an individual whom he believed belonged to al-Qaida. Melzer consumed O9A materials and communicated online with other O9A adherents. He allegedly passed updates on his unit's overseas locations, movements and security practises in an effort—albeit unsuccessful—to enable violent extremists to attack his unit and the military installation it was guarding. When arrested, Melzer declared himself a traitor to the United States.

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PATRIOT MOVEMENT

The Patriot Movement includes a range of sub-movements, including segments that are focussed on militias, tax protest and protection of the US First and Second Amendments. These sub-movements are generally less significant in Canada, in part, due to restrictions on firearm ownership and militia activity¹² prescribed in the *Criminal Code of Canada*. Regardless, the concepts and narratives espoused by these sub-movements exist across the Canadian IMVE space.

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While each sub-movement has its own beliefs and grievances, they share a common conviction that part or all of the government has been infiltrated and subverted by a malignant conspiracy and is no longer legitimate. Like adherents of other movements that are founded on conspiracy theories, members of the Patriot Movement advocate overturning the social order in order to remove their perceived enemies. There is some overlap between elements of the Patriot Movement and the White Nationalist/Supremacist Movement; however, the latter is not a key component of the former.

s.38

¹² See s.70 (1) and (2) of the *Criminal Code of Canada*.

s.38

MILITIA MOVEMENT

Those within the Militia Movement portray themselves as patriots who are dedicated to protecting the US constitution (equivalent to the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*). They have traditionally believed that the federal government is collaborating with shady domestic and international entities and/or elites (liberals, communists, big business, the United Nations, etc.) in order to strip Americans of their First and Second Amendment rights (firearm and freedom of speech rights in Canada). Since 2016, the Militia Movement has increasingly focussed on other perceived enemies, including Antifa, Black Lives Matter (BLM) and, more recently, sub-national-level officials who are attempting to impose pandemic-related restrictions. s.38



In the United States, the Militia Movement is comprised of numerous private, generally 'right-wing' paramilitary organizations whose members characteristically accept highly conspiratorial interpretations of politics and view themselves as defenders of traditional freedoms against government oppression and tyranny. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) categorizes the III% (Three Percenters) as part of the broader Militia Movement. The Government of Canada listed the III% as a terrorist entity in 2021 (see image above). s.38

Example

On October 8, 2020, the FBI arrested and charged six Americans with conspiring to kidnap Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer. Seven additional Americans were charged with state-level terrorism offences for their connections to the Wolverine Watchmen, a little-known Michigan-based anti-government militia. s.38

BOOGALOO MOVEMENT¹³

"Boogaloo" is best understood as (i) a decentralized, anti-authority movement whose adherents believe that "they are following in the footsteps of the United States' founders and participating in a revolution against tyranny"¹⁴ and (ii) a narrative that focusses on an expected event in the near future where society collapses—either due to a proactive insurrection or a necessary uprising of people against an oppressive political system. While the first is predominantly an American phenomenon, the latter is a broader tent that has appealed to a wide range of actors, particularly to accelerationists.¹⁵

s.38

¹⁴ See: *Understanding Accelerationist Narratives: The Boogaloo* by Matthew Kriner, Alex Newhouse and Jonathan Lewis, November 18, 2021. s.38

¹⁵ See *Understanding Accelerationist Narratives: The Boogaloo* by Matthew Kriner, Alex Newhouse and Jonathan Lewis (November 18, 2021). s.38

The Boogaloo Movement lacks a formal organizational structure, national leader or even a cohesive ideology that unites all adherents. Generally, the Movement seeks less government infringement of an individual's rights. Key overarching concepts/themes that underlie the mindset of adherents include:

- a fear of government overreach (particularly relating to gun rights and freedom of expression);
- a growing hatred of police;
- a declining confidence in democracy and trust in government institutions; and,
- a belief in a coming apocalyptic confrontation against the state (a civil war that is inevitable and often deemed as desirable).

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As a result, the Boogaloo Movement includes strongly libertarian, ethno-nationalist, or anti-government ideas/beliefs. Those within the Boogaloo Movement may hold White Supremacist ideas/beliefs, while others may include individuals of non-White races. Ultimately, self-identification as a "Boog" (short for Boogaloo) and belief in one or more of the concepts is sufficient to be considered part of the Movement. The Movement also uses memes, clothing and other imagery as a means of obfuscating its increased and potentially violent views.

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In the United States, the Boogaloo Movement has grown to include a small number of more traditionally structured cells, or 'groupuscules,' that engage in real-world activity—participation in protests (often anti-authority in nature), survival training, or confrontations with identified "enemies" that include ANTIFA, liberals, the scientific community and law enforcement.

s.38

Example

In June 2020, US Air Force Sergeant Steven Carrillo was arrested and charged with 19 felonies—including murder—involving the shooting deaths of a contracted security officer and a law enforcement officer and the wounding of three other individuals in California. Carrillo adhered to the Boogaloo worldview and belonged to the "Grizzly Scouts," a small and secretive Boogaloo group that "discussed tactics involving killing of police officers and other law enforcement."

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QANON MOVEMENT

QAnon represents an amalgamation of virtually every popular conspiracy theory under a single interpretive frame. It is a conspiratorial construct under which multiple conspiracies are believed to be linked hierarchically. At the behest of both anonymous poster "Q" and influential members of the Movement, QAnon supporters watch out for purported secret clues, 'deciphering' cryptic, often religiously charged, "QDrops" (online posts by "Q") to learn more about the secret cabal. This

deciphering process goes beyond the level of the individual, but is achieved by the QAnon community.¹⁶ s.38

QAnon narratives are constantly expanding to include false information about current events such as the alleged US 2020 presidential election fraud or the COVID-19 vaccination campaign. It is also converging with narratives that are traditionally used by the Pseudolaw Movement and racially motivated extremists. Like many conspiracy theories, QAnon narratives are non-falsifiable. Many QAnon supporters accept these logical fallacies without criticism. It should be noted that QAnon narratives are often shared unknowingly by individuals, thereby furthering the narratives' reach within the general public.^{s.38}



QAnon has evolved substantially since its beginnings as a fringe online community. QAnon narratives are now promulgated by a growing group of political and/or social media figures in the United States and around the world. Today, QAnon is an established movement of supporters who feel a moral duty to uncover the 'truth' about the supposed government cabal¹⁷ and, in turn, fight against it.^{s.38}

QAnon narratives are regularly adopted by adherents of other IMVE movements—in particular, the Pseudolaw Movement.^{s.38}

Examples

Individuals adhering to QAnon narratives have engaged in more than 125 crimes around the world, including murder, firearms offences and transnational kidnapping.^{s.38}

In February 2020, Matthew Wright pleaded guilty in Arizona to a range of offences, including making a terrorist threat for a June 2018 incident in which he created a barricade with an armoured vehicle at the Hoover Dam in support of his QAnon beliefs.^{s.38}

PSEUDOLAW MOVEMENT

Encompassing that which was formerly referred to as sovereign citizens or freemen on the land, activity by Pseudolaw Movement adherents across Canada largely collapsed by the mid-2010s. More recently, adherents have repackaged the same ideas, particularly within the context of anti-public health measures, forced vaccination and QAnon narratives. At the core, Pseudolaw

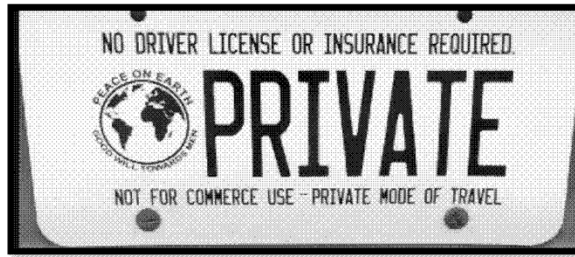
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¹⁷ QAnon proponents believe that President Trump was battling a cabal of deep-state actors and their celebrity allies who were, in turn, engaged in satanic worship and pedophilia.^{s.38}

narratives challenge the authority of the state, while individuals call for the need for violence at the fringe.¹⁸ Pseudolaw adherents are found across the IMVE milieu. s.38

Pseudolaw is a collection of legal-sounding—but false—rules that purport to be superior laws that are suppressed by conspiratorial actors.

Pseudolaw replaces conventional law and aims to shift authority away from state and institutional actors to individuals. It is particularly attractive to threat actors who resist conventional authority. Pseudolaw is politically agnostic, since it does not change or create the ideologies and objectives of these threat actors, but instead empowers said ideologies. Pseudolaw aggravates interactions between its host populations and conventional government, court and law enforcement actors; at the fringes, it can result in violence. s.38



Adherents typically hold profound conspiratorial beliefs concerning the nature and legitimacy of “conventional” authorities; they are clearly attracted to the idea of another “true” hidden law that, once accessed, will permit followers to escape from—or retaliate against—those who are perceived as enemies or wrongdoers. s.38

Example

Between 2010 and 2020, individuals in the United States with Pseudolaw Movement views killed approximately 15 law enforcement officers and wounded 54 others. s.38

ANTI-PUBLIC HEALTH MEASURES MOVEMENT

Best described as a large transnational movement that exists primarily online, but manifests itself as real-world protests/demonstrations that oppose a range of government restrictions related to the COVID-19 pandemic. Online content and real-world activities often occur under the guise of personal freedoms or health safety while espousing a broad range of beliefs in support of their opposition from across the traditional left-right ideological spectrum, including s.38

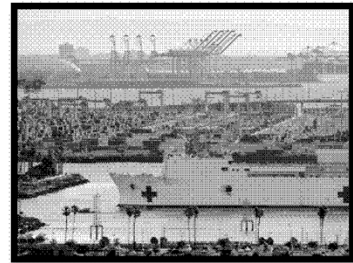
- government overreach/tyranny;
- suspicion of big pharma;
- opposition to vaccinations / vaccination passports;
- denial of COVID-19 as a threat;
- opposition to lockdown measures;
- opposition to globalization;
- protection of children; and,
- protection of personal health and personal freedoms. s.38

¹⁸ See “The History of the Organized Pseudolegal Commercial Argument Phenomenon in Canada”, Donald Netolitzky, Alberta Law Review, April 2016. s.38

Like the QAnon Movement, the Anti-Public Health Measures Movement is intrinsically linked to a range of conspiracy theories. Many supporters accept the inherent logical fallacies without question, and narratives are often shared unknowingly by individuals, thereby furthering the narratives' reach within the general public. The Movement is also intertwined with many of the other IMVE movements, particularly QAnon. s.38

Example

In March 2020, Eduardo Moreno, a train engineer at the Port of Los Angeles, California, was arrested on federal charges for attempting to run his locomotive off the tracks at full speed in the direction of the USNS *Mercy*. Moreno informed law enforcement that the *Mercy* was "suspicious" and had an "alternate purpose" related to COVID-19 or a government takeover. In December 2021, Moreno pleaded guilty to one count of committing a terrorist attack and other violence against railroad carriers and mass transportation systems. His actions caused approximately \$700,000 in damages. s.38



ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

Anarchists believe that individual freedom is paramount and that hierarchies of authority and power are infringements upon that freedom. They oppose traditional forms of government, advocating instead for decision-making by consensus, direct democracy and the organization of society by mutual association. Anarchists typically oppose private property rights, which they view as an element of centralized authority. s.38

Anarchists embrace a wide range of tactics to achieve their goals, the majority of which are nonviolent in nature. Some anarchists eschew violence in any form; many condone violence only as a means of self-defence, believing they can dismantle the state through non-violent means. Other anarchists may accept violence as a necessity to achieving their political goals; however, they do not engage in violence or directly support it themselves. s.38

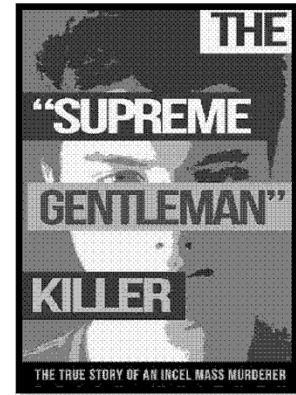


Example

In May 2010, a Royal Bank of Canada (RBC) branch in the Glebe neighbourhood of Ottawa was firebombed by a cell that self-identified as "FFFC-Ottawa" (Fighting for Freedom Coalition-Ottawa), causing approximately \$500,000 in damages. The cell posted a video online in which it explained that RBC was targeted because of its sponsorship of the 2010 Vancouver Olympics and its role as one of the leading financiers of oil sands development projects in Alberta. In 2010, a 58-year-old former federal civil servant, Roger Clement, pleaded guilty to the firebombing and was sentenced to three and a half years in prison. s.38

INCEL MOVEMENT¹⁹

Involuntary celibates (hereafter "Incels") are predominantly male online community adherents who define themselves by their inability to engage in sexual activities with women. Incels blame their inability to form sexual relationships on their perceived genetic inferiority, evolutionary traits in female mate selection and oppressive societal structures. They blame females—and society as a whole—for their personal circumstances; some advocate for a new social structure that would treat them "fairly". s.38



Incels consider themselves unfit for physical socialization, leading to the creation of communities that gather primarily online. Their digital ecosystem is tightly connected and internally abusive, therein creating toxic environments that reinforce Incels' dependencies on these online spaces. The creation of an in-group vocabulary also promotes further isolation of Incels. Within the Incel ecosystem, past attackers are perceived as "Saints". s.38

An Incel who has taken the "black pill" has adopted the belief that they are hopeless and that their lack of success—romantically and sexually—is permanent, regardless of any changes to their appearance, personality, or other characteristics. s.38

The online Incel ecosystem contains violent misogynistic content, much of which is presented and discussed through this ideological lens. The Incel Movement not only promotes violence against others—primarily women—but also poses a threat to members within the Incel community itself, through suicidal ideation and encouragement of self-harm. s.38

Example

On April 23, 2018, Alexander Minassian drove a rental van on the sidewalk of Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario, killing 10 individuals and injuring 16 others. He was subsequently found guilty of 10 counts of first-degree murder and 16 counts of attempted murder. Prior to the attack, Minassian self-identified as an Incel in a Facebook posting wherein he stated that he hoped his actions would lead to an Incel rebellion. s.38

On February 24, 2020, a 17-year-old minor entered the Crown Spa (an erotic massage parlour) in Toronto, Ontario, and stabbed two women, killing one and injuring the other. In May 2020, the charges were upgraded to "murder – terrorist activity" and "attempted murder – terrorist activity. In a joint statement, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and Toronto Police Service (TPS) announced that investigations had determined that the attack "was inspired by the Incel Movement". s.38

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Examples of Other Movements

As previously explained, movements do not collectively hold or espouse extreme views or engage in serious violence. That said, a very small portion of adherents in each may be willing to engage in or promote serious violence as a means of achieving their objectives. This project does not assess the relative threat posed by each movement, although each has a current, historical, or potential future nexus to serious violence. s.38

Animal Rights Movement

From 1996 to 2001, a cell within the broader animal rights group Animal Liberation Front (ALF) conducted a string of 20 arsons across the United States, resulting in \$40 million in damages to (i) government facilities, including ranger stations, wildlife facilities and a police department; (ii) private companies, such as meat packaging companies, a ski resort, a lumber company, a truck centre, and a farm; (iii) the University of Washington Horticultural Center; and (iv) a power line. s.38

Anti-Abortion Movement

On June 6, 2021, Nathaniel Veltman, a 20-year-old resident of London, Ontario, drove his pickup truck onto the sidewalk, deliberately striking a Muslim family of five; four members were killed and the fifth was injured. The accused fled the scene; he was arrested a short time later, without incident, by the London Police Service (LPS). The accused was subsequently charged with four counts of first-degree murder and one count of attempted murder, which also constitutes terrorism offences. s.38

s.38

In May 1992, a Toronto, Ontario, anti-abortion clinic operated by Henry Morgentaler was firebombed, causing the entire front wall of the building to collapse. The attack was conducted at night by two people (caught on security camera) using gasoline and a firework to set off the explosion. No one was hurt, but the building had to be demolished. The perpetrators have not been apprehended. s.38

Anti-Fascist Movement

In July 2019, American Willem van Spronsen firebombed a US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention centre in Tacoma, Washington. He was shot dead by police, who claim he was attempting to ignite a propane tank. While part of the Anti-Fascist Movement, van Spronsen was a member of a John Brown Gun Club chapter – one of the more prominent anti-fascist gun clubs in the United States. s.38



Environmental Movement

s.38

In May 1982, a self-described cell called Direct Action (also known as the Squamish Five) travelled to Vancouver Island and set off a large bomb at the Dunsmuir British Columbia Hydro substation. The attack resulted in over \$3 million in damages; four transformers were damaged beyond repair. No one was injured in the attack. The hydroelectric project had been criticized by some as environmentally unsound and contributing to the destruction of wilderness on Vancouver Island. s.38

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